

CONVENTION SUPPLEMENT

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HISTORY OF NOMINATIONS FROM WASHINGTON TO TAFT

1832 SAW BIRTH OF CONVENTIONS

Candidates Were Chosen by Electors in Youth of Republic.

NO PLATFORMS THEN

Political Battles Fought in Newspapers and on the Stump.

FIVE LEADING PARTIES

Nation Has Been Confronted With Only Six Great Issues in a Century.

By EDWARD G. RIGGS.

On June 13, 1832, political parties for a century or more have come and gone in the United States and the American nation has become the greatest republic of all ages.

It was the fashion of English statesmen after the War of the Revolution to predict the disintegration and downfall of the American republic when our population reached the 100,000,000 mark. The English Premier who predicted this dire disaster based his conclusions on the fact that the United States was a collection of warring and warring states, and that the millions of immigrants who would flock to our shores from European countries, they did not have for an environment the foundation, the sense and the spirit of all civilization, a free press, a free pulpit and the greatest freedom of public schools that the world has ever known.

Several years after the Franco-Prussian war, with Gambetta as the majestic and intellectual Premier of the French republic, the late Gen. Lee of the Union League Club dwelt to Gambetta in Paris the permanency of the French republic. Gen. Lee recalled to Gambetta the frequent attempts to establish a republic in France, the direct result of the overthrow of Bonaparte and of the Bourbons.

"My friend," said Gambetta, "you forget the substantiality of the French republic. We have planted public schools in the remotest parts and the smallest villages of France. They are the eternal support of a republic. They are the eternal support of the American republic."

Republic Is to Endure.

"And our republic is to endure just as the American republic is to endure, for all ages. Both are based on a system that will withstand the changes of politicians and the ambitions of demagogues."

Since the constitutional convention of 1787, at which, by the way, in view of a revived public sentiment on the subject, it may be interesting to know that George Washington voted twice for a single term of seven years for President, the incumbent to be ineligible for reelection, there have been only two great parties in the United States. In name there have been five great parties, the Federalists, the Democratic-Republicans, the National Republicans, or Whigs, the Republican and the Democratic.

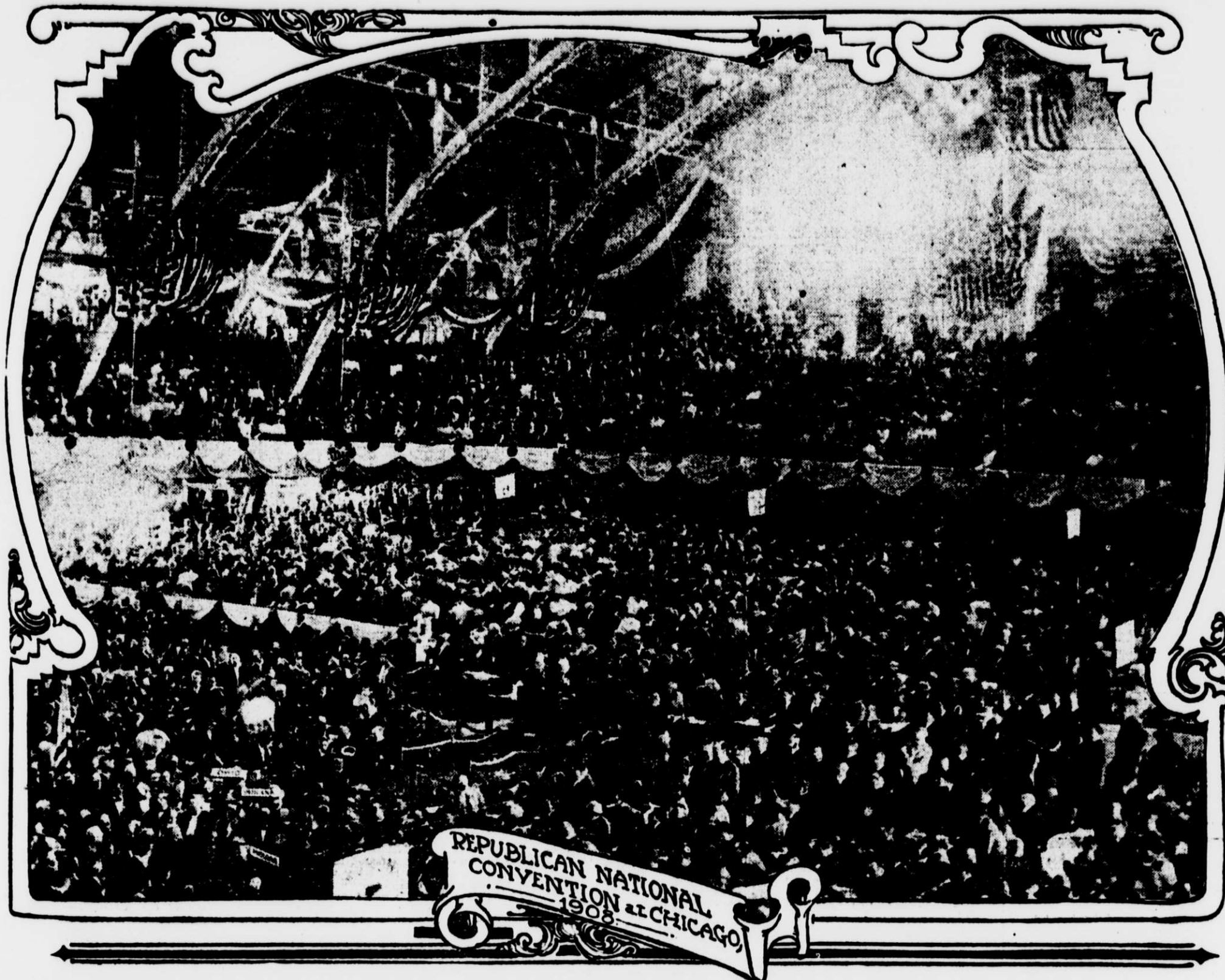
In effect and in purpose the essential differences between the Federalists, the National Republicans and the Republicans have been immaterial. Their all absorbing platform and practice has been the centralization of government at Washington. Their political ancestral champion, Alexander Hamilton, was obsessed with this form of a centralized government. The paternalistic predilections of the Republican party, for the last fifty years or more are only a continuance of the all pervading ideas of statecraft which in the body and blood and soul of Alexander Hamilton.

The Democratic-Republican party, the original name in the days of Thomas Jefferson, has been the exponent of States rights, of a zealous, continuous and consistent opposition to the Federalists and paternalistic, centralized statecraft of the Federalists, the Whigs, and the Republicans, all cousins german from the foundation of the Government.

At War on the Tariff.

In another feature the Federalists, the Whigs and the Republicans have differed essentially with the Democratic-Republican party of early times and the Democrats of later years. The opposing forces have always been at war on the tariff. The former have demanded a tariff for revenue only. The Democrats have been opposed to special legislation, in which they have charged for generations that their opponents have been most proficient. The Democratic doctrine has been to the effect that high protection breeds corruption, the Republicans, returning the fire, proclaimed and have proclaimed for many years that the American workingman must be protected against the cheap labor of Europe.

For a hundred years there virtually have been only six great issues for discussion and for political division in the American republic. During that time there have been scores upon scores of internal hostilities, quick notions, idle speculations of principles and various personal issues, but the six great issues which have swayed the nation may be summed up in the division of opinion as to the advisability of the war with England in 1812, the annexation of Texas, which led up to the Mexican war; the slav-



ery question, the civil war, the tariff and the trusts.

The Federalists went down to defeat confronted by Thomas Jefferson, who with his followers was opposed to the Alexander Hamilton paternalistic form of government. Jefferson had returned from his sojourn as Minister to France impressed with the "rights of man," as proclaimed by Tom Paine and emphasized by his own study and investigation of the causes which led up to the French Revolution.

There Were No Platforms.

There were no party platforms in those days. The political battles were conducted in the newspapers and from the stump. The personal animosities between candidates and their followers and personal abuse, often resulting in duels, were too shameful even to be mentioned by inference.

In due time the mantle of Thomas Jefferson fell upon the shoulders of Andrew Jackson and the emblem of a half-monarchical form of government represented by the expositions of Alexander Hamilton fell upon the shoulders of Henry Clay. The feuds of those days were unparalleled in the annals of the country for political and personal bitterness. Jackson could not find expressions sufficiently adequate to give his opinion of Clay. Clay was by no means backward in retaliatory utterances. Jackson was always the victor.

Clay, while the idol of the Whigs, represents perhaps the most dully disappointed man in American politics. There is only the later parallel to Clay's fate, that of James G. Blaine. Clay, while the earnest advocate of American protection, quibbled on the extension of slavery, the dominant factor which through continued quibbling led to the destruction of the Whigs and in 1858 to the organization of the Republican national party.

This new party was committed in every line of its platform and by every personal exertion to prevent the extension of slavery. It was not committed to the abolition of slavery. The exigencies of the civil war led to Abraham Lincoln's proclamation of emancipation. Thousands of Republicans bitterly assailed Lincoln for that proclamation.

With the close of the civil war the Republicans were triumphant in all parts of the nation. Gradually, slowly but surely, the old Federalistic, paternalistic ideas of government began to assert themselves. The Republicans adopted a still higher protective tariff policy. The Democrats continued on their way, declaring in season and out of season for a tariff for revenue only.

With this policy of high protection have come the trusts, which for several years have been the subject of political disputes between the parties. The passage of the Sherman anti-trust law, which was the work of Senator Edmunds of Vermont, and not of Senator John Sherman of Ohio, came in for little discussion until after Roosevelt succeeded McKinley. Since then it has been dissected and argued and eventually the Supreme Court of the United States interpreted its features.

Republicans Divided.

The Republican party has become hopelessly divided on the tariff and other measures. The two factions are known as standpatners and progressives. The Adolph-Payne tariff bill, passed and signed by President Taft in 1909 after an extraordinary session of Congress, was primarily responsible for the return of a Democratic House of Representatives, the first in sixteen years, and the election of Democratic Governors in the important States of Indiana, Connecticut, New Jersey, Massachusetts and New York and for the reelection of Gov. Harmon in Ohio. Since that election the war between the opposing Republican factions has increased hourly in bitterness.

The Republican party at the present moment occupies an almost similar position in the strength of its opposing factions to that of the Democratic party in 1860, the year in which Lincoln became the first President of the Republican party. In that year the Democratic national party was rent in twain by the opposing forces on the slavery question.

Democrats Harmonious.

The Democratic national party in the present campaign is virtually harmonious. Its differences refer more to men than to measures. They feel that for the first time since 1860 there is a transposition of the parties so far as their popularity before the people is concerned; that the Republicans are sundered and stricken, while the Democrats are united. In a cursory history of the political parties of the nation it should be stated that besides the two dominant parties already mentioned there have been minor parties, none of which attained lasting prominence or influence.

The Liberty party organized in Buffalo in 1843, nominated for President James G. Birney of Michigan and Thomas Morris of Ohio for Vice-President.

The Free Soil convention nominated for President in 1848 Martin Van Buren of New York and Charles Francis Adams of Massachusetts for Vice-President. Four years later the Free Soilers, all opposed to the extension of slavery, nominated for President John P. Hale of New Hampshire and for Vice-President George W. Julian of Indiana.

In 1856 the American, or Know Nothing, party nominated for President Millard Fillmore of New York and for Vice-President Andrew Jackson Donelson of Tennessee. In 1860 the Constitutional Union party nominated for President John Bell of Tennessee and for Vice-President Edward Everett of Massachusetts.

Nomination of Fremont.

In 1861 the Republican Radical party nominated for President John C. Fremont of California and for Vice-President John C. Cochrane of New York. Fremont had been the first regular Republican candidate of that party in 1856. Gen. Fremont declined the nomination of 1861 and recommended the support of the regular Republican ticket for a second time, headed by Lincoln, and his recommendation was followed.

In 1872 the Democratic straight ticket convention nominated Charles O'Connor

of New York for President and John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts for Vice-President. These straight ticket Democrats declined to follow the amalgamation of the regular Democrats and the liberal Republicans in the nomination of Horace Greeley for President. Eventually O'Connor and Adams declined the nomination of the straight ticket Democrats, but votes were given for them in the campaign.

In that same year of 1872 the Labor Reform party nominated for President David Davis of Illinois and for Vice-President Joel Parker of New York, both of whom declined the nomination. The Labor Reformers then endorsed O'Connor and Adams.

In 1876 the Prohibitionists first came into prominence. They nominated for President James Black of Pennsylvania and for Vice-President the Rev. John Russell of Michigan. In 1876 the Prohibitionists nominated Green Clay Smith of Kentucky; in 1880, they nominated Neal Dow of Maine; in 1884 and since the Prohibitionists in all national campaigns have had candidates for the Presidency, but without results.

Greenbacks Named Cooper.

In 1876 the Greenback party nominated for President Peter Cooper of New York and for Vice-President Samuel F. Cary of Ohio. Four years later the Greenbackers nominated for President James B. Weaver of Iowa and for Vice-President B. D. J. Chambers of Texas. In 1883 they nominated for President Gen. Benjamin F. Butler of Massachusetts and for Vice-President A. M. West of Mississippi.

In that same year the Equal Rights party nominated for President Belva A. Lockwood of the District of Columbia and for Vice-President Marietta L. Stowe of California. In 1888 the labor men again took a hand in national politics. Yet they were divided. The Union Labor convention nominated for President Andrew J. Streator of Illinois and for Vice-President Charles E. Cunningham of Arkansas, while the United Labor convention nominated for President Robert H. Cowdrey of Illinois and for Vice-President W. H. T. Wakefield of Kansas.

In 1892 the Populists began to raise their heads in national affairs. At their national people's convention that year they nominated for President Gen. J. B. Weaver of Iowa and for Vice-President James C. Field of Virginia, and Gen. Weaver's total popular vote that year was 1,000,000. Yet within a few years the Populist party was utterly disintegrated and since has retired from the field. All the other minor parties mentioned exerted little influence in national affairs outside of electing representatives in Congress and soon passed away.

Growth of Socialism.

Within the last dozen years the Socialist vote has materially increased in the United States. When compared, though, with the Socialist vote of Italy, France, Germany and England the vote in the United States must be considered of little importance. Yet in a number of recent

national campaigns the threatened influence of the Socialists has confused the party managers of the two dominant parties.

The Socialist vote in the United States has been important only as influencing the election of Mayors of cities. In the forty years of its existence in this country the Socialist vote has been effective in electing only one member to the House of Representatives. The total Socialist vote in the United States in 1910 was about 325,000.

Publicists and others who have carefully considered the problem of the Socialists in the United States do not believe it ever will be effective in national elections, for the sole and simple reason that the agriculturists of the country will have nothing to do with socialism. In other words the Socialists cannot nationalize the farmers. Others assert that the American republic, with its free press and free pulpit, will never be in danger from the Socialists. Then, too, the public school system is not compatible with the tenets of socialism.

While it has taken forty years of socialism in the United States to develop a national party vote of 325,000, it has taken only twenty-five years of socialism in Germany to bring out a total vote in that empire of 4,250,000. It has been demonstrated that in all monarchical governments, like those of Germany, Italy and England, the growth of socialism has been especially pronounced within the last quarter of a century.

Outgrowth of Caste.

Wherever caste is there you will find socialism on the increase. This is the opinion of proficient students on this subject. For instance, most of the Mayors in Italy are Socialists. The Socialists of Germany declare they have little or nothing to complain of in the conduct of the government of that empire. Then why this marvellous increase in socialism? The Socialists tell you that "all we want is that our sons may go to the universities."

In the United States there is not a boy born who cannot aspire to be President. He may go to any church he pleases, he has the advantage of the public school system and of the great colleges and universities. There is no limit to the aspirations and ambitions he may attain. And, with the agriculturists consistently opposed to socialism, it is the opinion that certainly not within the next hundred years, if at all, will the Socialists become factors in our national elections. The free institutions of the republic are opposed to its growth.

The rise in socialism within the last dozen years is attributed to the alleged corruption and mismanagement in the two dominant political parties. While there is no caste in the United States to confront these Socialists, many of their leaders tell you that the political boss, local, State and national, represents to them all that is perfidious in monarchical governments.

Offended by Arrogance.

It is well known that both the Democratic and Republican national managers

in several Presidential campaigns have attempted to come to some arrangement or deal with the Socialists and have always met with failure. The arrogance of a political boss of either party, especially in municipal affairs, is offensive to the Socialists. The still greater arrogance of a political machine, either municipal or State, brings out a steady, consistent and persistent opposition from the Socialists.

At a time when one of the dominant parties, with all the traditions of Alexander Hamilton at its back, is threatened with disruption, and when the other party, with the traditions and thoughts of Thomas Jefferson sustaining it, seems to be reviving, it may be eminently proper to present to the American people a comprehensive record of the main events of those parties since the foundation of the Government.

The first Presidents of the United States were chosen by electors, who were chosen by the Legislatures of the States. The person having the majority of these electors should be President and the person having the next greatest number should be Vice-President. In enumerating as briefly as possible the Presidential candidates and the party platforms, it will be observed that in the enunciation of principles many of the fundamentals of our own time were discussed and appreciated in former days. Here follows in categorical order the record of nominations, elections and the features of the party platforms in American political history:

Election of 1789.

No conventions.
No platforms.
No nominations.
The first Presidential election took place in the States that had ratified the Constitution on the first Wednesday, the 7th of January, 1789, and the Electors chose the President and Vice-President on the first Wednesday of February.

The vote, counted on April 6, 1789, was:
George Washington of Virginia..... 69
John Adams of Massachusetts..... 34
Samuel Huntington of Connecticut..... 2
John Jay of New York..... 2
John Hancock of Massachusetts..... 1
John Rutledge of South Carolina..... 1
John Milton of Georgia..... 1
James Armstrong of Georgia..... 1
Edward Telfair of Georgia..... 1
Benjamin Lincoln of Massachusetts..... 1
The Electors were chosen by the Legislatures in the following States: Connecticut, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, South Carolina and Georgia.

Ten States voted.
No record of the popular vote.
No conventions.
No platforms.
No nominations.

Party organization had just begun. Those acting under the general name of Anti-Federalist, although having many minor differences, were united into one party, taking the name of Democratic-Republican.

The Federalists and Democratic-Republicans both supported President Washington for a second term.
For Vice-President the Federalists supported John Adams of Massachusetts.

The Democratic-Republicans supported George Clinton of New York.

The election took place on November 6, 1792. The vote, as counted on February 13, 1793, was:

George Washington of Virginia..... 132
John Adams of Massachusetts..... 71
George Clinton of New York..... 50
Thomas Jefferson of Virginia..... 4
Aaron Burr of New York..... 1
Electors were chosen by the Legislatures in the following States: Connecticut, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, South Carolina and Georgia.
Fifteen States voted.
No record of popular vote.

Election of 1796.

No conventions.
No platforms.
No nominations.
The Democratic-Republicans supported: For President—Thomas Jefferson of Virginia.
Vice-President—Aaron Burr, New York.
The Federalists supported: For President—John Adams of Massachusetts.
Vice-President—Thomas Pinckney of Maryland.

The election took place on November 8, 1796.

The vote as counted on February 8, 1797 was:

John Adams of Massachusetts..... 71
Thomas Jefferson of Virginia..... 68
Thomas Pinckney of South Carolina..... 59
Aaron Burr of New York..... 30
Samuel Adams of Massachusetts..... 20
Oliver Ellsworth of Connecticut..... 11
John Jay of New York..... 5
George Clinton of New York..... 2
S. Johnston of South Carolina..... 2
James Iredell of North Carolina..... 2
George Washington of Virginia..... 1
C. C. Pinckney of South Carolina..... 1
John Henry of Maryland..... 2

Electors were chosen by the Legislatures in the following States: Connecticut, Delaware, Georgia, New Jersey, New York and South Carolina.
Sixteen States voted.
No record of popular vote.

Election of 1800.

No conventions.
No platforms.
The candidates were selected by a caucus of members of Congress.
The Federalists:

For President—John Adams of Massachusetts.
Vice-President—C. C. Pinckney of South Carolina.
The Democratic-Republicans:

For President—Thomas Jefferson of Virginia.
Vice-President—Aaron Burr of New York.

The election took place on November 4, 1800.

The vote as counted on February 11, 1801, was:

Thomas Jefferson of Virginia..... 73
Aaron Burr of New York..... 73
John Adams of Massachusetts..... 65
C. C. Pinckney of South Carolina..... 64
John Jay of New York..... 1
Sixteen States voted.
Electors were chosen by the Legislatures in the following States: Connecticut, Delaware, Georgia, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, South Carolina and Vermont.

No record of popular vote.
No one having received a majority of the votes cast, the House proceeded on the same day to elect a President and Vice-President. On the first ballot eight States voted for Thomas Jefferson, six for Aaron Burr and the votes of two were divided. The balloting continued until Tuesday, February 17, 1801, when on the thirty-sixth ballot ten States voted for Thomas Jefferson, four for Aaron Burr and two in blank. Thomas Jefferson having received the votes of a majority of the States was thereby elected President, and Aaron Burr Vice-President.

Election of 1804.

No conventions.
No platforms.
Candidates were chosen by Congressional caucus.
Democratic-Republicans:

For President—Thomas Jefferson of Virginia.
Vice-President—George Clinton of New York.

Federalists:
For President—C. C. Pinckney of South Carolina.
Vice-President—Rufus King of New York.

The election took place on November 6, 1804.

The vote, as counted on February 13, 1805, was:

For President:
Thomas Jefferson of Virginia..... 142
Charles C. Pinckney of South Carolina..... 14
For Vice-President:
George Clinton of New York..... 142
Rufus King of New York..... 14
Seventeen States voted.

Electors were chosen by the Legislatures in the following States: Connecticut, Delaware, Georgia, New York, South Carolina and Vermont.

Election of 1808.

No conventions.
No platforms.
Candidates were chosen by Congressional caucus.
Democratic-Republicans:

For President—J. Madison of Virginia.
Vice-President—George Clinton of New York.

Republicans:
For President—C. C. Pinckney of South Carolina.
For Vice-President—Rufus King of New York.

The election took place on November 8, 1808.

The vote as counted on February 8, 1809, was:

For President:
James Madison of Virginia..... 122
George Clinton of New York..... 122
C. C. Pinckney of South Carolina..... 47
For Vice-President:
George Clinton of New York..... 122
James Madison of Virginia..... 8
James Monroe of Virginia..... 8
John Randolph of New Hampshire..... 3
Rufus King of New York..... 47
Madison and Clinton were therefore elected.

The States choosing their electors by the Legislature were as follows: Connecticut, Delaware, Georgia, New York, South Carolina and Vermont.
Seventeen States voted.
No record of popular vote.

Election of 1812.

No conventions.
No platforms.
The candidates were nominated by Congress at Washington in May.
The Republicans nominated:
For President—James Madison, Virginia.
Vice-President—Elbridge Gerry, Massachusetts.
De Witt Clinton refused to be bound by this bargain and, having been nominated